1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxication, marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguards women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizations militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from taking part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in all of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tends to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Man and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himself whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[99] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahõ′ village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 1936 I spent a fortnight in the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca. When I was about to leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpẽ′ made every effort to attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient Indian usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requested to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permit this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wife came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospective fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

518 626 On the other hand, I have known a Rąmkõ′kamekra who kept two young wantons, the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors to Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marked repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since the strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repels, the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtrot is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsiders prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begin to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech bluntly asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, telling them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasional married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur in the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small groups during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywhere surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, and associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirty years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent weeks among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venereal diseases.

WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentíapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes that are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry as

[99] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 170.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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signal caracteristico da paz, e ellas os braços encruzados; cantavam alternadamente, e não com aquella algazarra que é propria dos seus divertimentos; mas davam por alguma forma a conhecer, no assustado dos seus semblantes, a incerteza que tinham da sinceridade dos homens que vinham a communicar."

(...at 7 o'clock in the morning they marched into the place unarmed, each lineage forming a column marching parallel to the others, and headed by their paramount chief Cocrit, a man of fifty, highly esteemed by his people and of such conduct in office that he did not seem to be a savage at all.... All the men were carrying green twigs in their hands, the characteristic emblem of peace, and the women had their arms crossed. They sang, alternately and not with so much noise as distinguishes their amusements. However, the alarm in their facial expression indicated their uncertainty as to the trustworthiness of the men with whom they sought an understanding.)[26]

Here is the fate of these same Põrekamekra according to Ribeiro after they had settled near the spot two months later:

O chefe Cocrit foi injustamente deposto, e retido como prisioneiro no logar, e sobre os demais imperou por tal forma a tyrannia dos hospedantes que fez confundir uma parte com os selvagens Macamekrans, e fugiro reste em desesperação.

(The chief Cocrit was unjustly deposed and kept prisoner in the village, and the rest were so burdened by the arbitrary domination of their hosts that part of them fused with the wild Macamekrans (= Krahõ') and the rest fled in despair.)

There are certainly Timbira tribes who have during the last century lived in unity with others, viz. the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye; the Apạ'nyekra and Krahõ'; the Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Kukóekamekra. Further, some of the tribes never broke the treaties made with Neobrazilians, for example, the Apạ'nyekra, the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal, and the Kre'pụ'mkateye. Other tribes, once bitter enemies, have formally concluded peace and united, as did the Rạmkõ'kamekra and the Čạ'kamekra. The ceremonial exchange of two pre-centresses customary on such occasions has been described. The institution of honorary chiefs (p. 9) likewise proves that the Timbira attached more importance to permanent peace than to incessant hostility.

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Visits.—Nevertheless mutual visits of Timbira groups, even when at peace, are not a simple affair. Several days after my first arrival among the Rạmkõ'kamekra I wished to visit the Apạ'nyekra, who lived only some fifty kilometers to the west. The two groups were on terms of peace, so I asked the councilors to let me hire a young man as guide and groom for my mount. To my astonishment this necessitated deliberations and negotiations protracted for days, and finally I was given for companions two men of mature years instead of the one young lad requested—one of the oldest councilors and another elder named Kopkré, whom I subsequently discovered to be a professional moderator and peacemaker. In reply to my subsequent query, why they had not provided *any* youth for the job, I learnt that that would have been inadvisable since a young man might easily commit some impropriety furnishing pretexts for hostilities and also causing me annoyance. However, such eventualities were not to be feared in the case of old Kentúm and the mediator Kopkré, whose sister, moreover, was married to an Apạ'nyekra.

In the hamlet of Porquinhos the chief, Chico Noleto Ka'kụ'lu, received me as his people are wont to receive strange "Christians." He regretted having nothing whatsoever to offer me and incessantly demanded rather than begged for anything that came into his head, using such phrases as, "What! You haven't even brought me such and such an object?" When I offered him some tobacco and a batch of cigarette paper, he refused to accept them on the ground that the present was insufficient, whereupon I calmly pocketed it, giving him nothing at all. At this point Kopkré displayed all his talents, introducing me to the second chief, an honorary chief

[26] Ribeiro, Memorja, §§ 66–67.

1[only on p. 126, see category 116 --- Analyst]

1s Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara feathers required for the ketúaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãčą'.

In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto. The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f. The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[86]

Law

Property.—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[87] among the Eastern Timbira, the land belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pąkõbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[86] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 468.

[87] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.